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I am invoking the benignant spirits of union
To this mundane world.
The mission is none other than
To officiate at this marriage rite.
We ask the Heaven Uniting Spirit,
The Earth Uniting Spirit,
The Year Uniting Spirit,
The Day Uniting Spirit,
The Hour Uniting Spirit,
The twelve uniting spirits and twelve uniting fairies,
Tung Wang Kung /Lord of the East, leader of the male immortals/
Hsi Wang Mu /Lady of the West, female immortals/ " " "
[821] The Cowherd and the Weaving Girl /names of stars/
And the Old Immortal in the moon."

585 [788] 264 756 At this point he takes a cup of wine and a piece of meat, and writes out an incantation. After burning this he asks the groom to drink half of the wine and to eat half of the meat, the rest being for the bride when she comes in. These are called the uniting wine and the uniting meat. After the sorcerer priest has finished this performance, he sets off firecrackers and leads the bride into the house through a small side door. She sits down beside the fire pit, in which a huge fire has been started. The chair is placed slightly farther away for fear that the fire would give out too much heat. The chair cannot be pushed [777] backward; it can only be pulled forward. The movement backward is recognized to be inauspicious; the forward movement then is auspicious. The sitting direction must be facing inside or in the direction of the ancestral tablet. After being seated she first washes her face with water. It has been boiled in a [824] cooking pot with t'ung grass, pa-lun grass, and huang-mao grass, taken out and put in a basin, and incantations written and recited. While the bride is washing her face, the sorcerer [756] priest sweeps with a broom several times behind her. After washing, she eats the meat and drinks the wine left by the groom.

/127 cont./

776 with the ability or knowledge within the domain of the profane
[771] appears, then they consider it to be the working of kuei /128/
This gives rise to fear or hope, prayers or opposition. There is
*[782] only one method and that is to invoke the assistance of kuei
with supernatural powers and offer sacrifices to them.

Although the Miao do not differentiate between shen and kuei, they do believe that there is a difference between good and bad kuei. The good kuei live in the yin/supernatural/world
772 of heaven [ta˧ pia˨˩. The earth, on which people live, is the
776 yang /mundane/ world. They do not have the theory of hell, but they believe that under the earth there lives a different kind of human beings. These people are as big as the little finger and live in houses plaited of mugwort and grass. A
774 human being has soul [pien˨˩ and a body [ko˧˥ tʂʻieŋ˧˧/. When
[828] one dreams it is an excursion of the soul while the body is
[753] asleep. When a person is sick and cannot be cured by medicine, then it is said that his soul has been taken away by a kuei. When a person becomes unconscious, his body has been seized by a ku woman. When a man dies, his soul ascends to heaven,
775 and he comes to the realization of death only when he hears the
[961] crash of thunder or when a Miao sorcerer comes to search for him. Those who suffer a sudden or violent death, such as from
[776] knife or spear wound, or from difficult childbirth, rolling into a gully, or falling into a pit, after death many become evil kuei. They are unable to go up to heaven; they are either immediately reborn into another state of existence and come back to life, or remain in the world to make trouble for people.
776 If a streak of black vapor is seen at night, they consider it the
821 manifestation of a kuei and people cry out, "[pɛ˧ tsʻəɯ˨˩"
[789] (meaning "drive away"), to expel them. The Miao for the most part believe that all natural phenomena have kuei as their controlling power. Hence the wind has a wind kuei [kueŋ˧
[824] ɕo˨˩ and trees, tree kuei [kueŋ˧ ndu˨˩. When there is a
† [782] violent storm with wind, thunder, and rain, they must burn
[237] beeswax in order to honor the kuei. What has been stated above are the native beliefs of the Miao. In recent years,
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Yang Ming-lai. (1) Yen Ju-yü is of the opinion that the third

> 1. Among the Miao there is a story to the effect that Yang's three brothers were the sons of a little frog, who were poisoned afterwards. (See the chapter, "Folk Tales," 1) Myths, 13) The Little Frog /not translated/.

story is more credible. However, the Yang brothers were the generals of the Sung Dynasty who subdued the Miao, and could not have won such high respect from the Miao. The present writers are of the opinion that the second story is relatively more credible. According to the Kan-chou T'ing Chih: "It is said that the mother saint met a dragon shen at Lung-ching-pa, Ya-ch'i, and became pregnant, giving birth to three marquis, who were braver than any man, and became generals." This story is identical to the story of the Bamboo King. Yen thinks that this story cannot be true, because Yeh-lang is located near today's Shih-nan, far from Wu-ch'i. But he ignores the fact that the Miao now in the three sub-prefectures mostly came from Kweichow, and the Bamboo King having a long historical relation with the Miao can therefore inspire devotion and awe from them.

(4) Ma-yang Ta Wang

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When a Miao has a strange sickness or comes across a strange event, he offers sacrifices to this shen, for sickness is considered to be an outer manifestation of some impending disaster. If sacrifices are not offered, a greater calamity will occur. Sacrifices are also offered in the event of a fire or of a meteor in the sky. The Miao think that fire is caused by a meteor falling in pieces, and so then they sacrifice to this shen. If it falls intact on earth it becomes a coffin, and they sacrifice to Lu-pan (see later). Ma-yang Ta Wang is a wicked shen with

/172 cont./

*782 incense stuck in. Fifteen paper flags of three different kinds are placed in five groups, with one from each kind. The ritual is divided into three parts. In the first part the sorcerer-priest, wearing ordinary clothes and holding the chiao-tzu in his right hand and the ritual knife in his left, utters the incantation to in-
*787 voke the shen and divines with the chiao-tzu. He pours the wine and asks the shen to accept the sacrificial things, and states the reason for the occasion. /173/ Then the sorcerer-priest rests awhile. The host cooks beef, cuts it into small pieces, and distributes them in five piles on the straw. There is also a bowl of salted pepper soup.

During the second part of the ritual the sorcerer-priest stands where he was before and utters an incantation, asking the shen to eat the meat and mi-pa. After the incantation the sorcerer-priest and his helper eat the sacrificial meat offered to the shen, but this time the host may not eat. If the sorcerer-priest and the helper cannot consume all of the five piles of beef, what is left will be left where it is. Now the sorcerer-priest takes a rest, and the host may then eat the left-over meat. After eating, he puts out five bowls of cooked rice, into each of which are stuck a pair of chopsticks, and five more piles of beef.

During the third part of the ritual the sorcerer-priest utters a prayer, asking for the protection of the shen, saying: "Now that the shen has partaken of the wine and meat, he naturally will respond to the request of the host." After the prayer is over, the host's friends and relatives in the village are invited to come to the home, and they remain until the sorcerer-priest burns paper to send the shen away. If any of the friends or relatives know of
578 the event but do not come, then later they cannot go to visit the house, for fear that the kuei of quarrels will follow them. If one member of a family goes, the rest of the family will be safe from this kuei.

921 774 755 (16) The Wind Kuei

If a Miao has suffered a long illness without getting better, it is necessary to sacrifice to the wind kuei. This sacrifice takes

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771 Thus, on the basis of what Frazer and Malinowski have said,
789 we can clearly distinguish between Miao magic and religion.
[931] For example, in the event of a drought, formerly the Miao
[782] would ask their sorcerer-priest to catch the dragon in order to
[821] seek rain, but now they offer sacrifices to the thunder kuei in order to seek rain. The former is magic, and the latter is religion, because catching the dragon to seek rain is the work of a magician to get power, by ritual and incantation, to directly control nature: whether the end is reached or not, whether it will rain or not, is the responsibility of the magician. Offering sacrifices to the thunder kuei to seek rain requires
[776] only the completion of the necessary prayer and ritual: whether there will be rain or not lies within the power of the spirits and beyond the reach of man. After having studied the various kinds of rituals for sacrifices to the kuei in the foregoing sections, we can see that the magic of the Miao in Hunan has largely progressed to the realm of religious acts, magic itself having lost its practical value, but religion still carries with it some imprints of magic. Therefore, the religion of the Miao in Hunan may be called magical religion. But aside from magical religion, there is still preserved a small amount of pure magic. As stated above, magic is a practical technique, and so the magic now still preserved among the Miao in Hunan has its practical value. The magic of controlling nature, such
[773] as rain and wind, animals and vegetables, no longer exists today, except in their folk tales, where traces of it may still be found. The magic now preserved by the Miao may be divided
[755] into two kinds: 1) hua shui /drawing water/, which is a form
[754] of white magic used to cure sickness; 2) fang ku /letting go insects/, which is a form of black magic used to make people sick.

10: Graham E-5 (1921-?) 1954 AE5 Miao AE5

775 and transmigration, is known and accepted by the Ch'uan Miao but does not
776 seem to be absorbed and does not greatly affect the lives of the people. The soul is real but shadowy, and the soul of a good man is larger than that of a bad man.

Demons are the souls of human beings or of birds, animals, reptiles, or inanimate things. If a deceased person has no descendants or if his descendants are unfilial and do not meet his needs by making the customary offerings, he becomes a demon and harms people. Demons of human beings are called *glang*, and demons of other living creatures are called *ts'ao*. When a person goes crazy and speaks in a meaningless or silly way, it is thought that he is possessed by a demon who is speaking through him. His speech is then called *glang lo* or demon talk.

The idols in the Chinese temples are regarded as demons and are called *glang miao*. There is one devil called *glang da lo* who is so big that he can step from one mountaintop to another and from the earth to the sky. He can kill a person with one blow of his thumb, and if he strikes a person on the chest with the palm of his hand the person dies, and the marks of his palm can be seen on the dead person's chest. There is another sky demon or devil called *ndo glang* who is worshiped by an elaborate ceremony in which a sow is killed.

The gods of the Ch'uan Miao are invisible unless they choose to reveal themselves to human beings. Chief among these is Ntzī, who lives in the sky and controls heaven and earth. He is regarded as good, just, kindly, and very powerful. He is the supreme but not the only god. Some stories tell of his sending his daughter to help poor and unfortunate men, and she generally marries them. A name that is sometimes used is Ntzī (or Ndgū) Nyong Leo, which means god, foundation, old. It apparently designates the same deity.

Another very interesting deity is called Ye Seo, Yei Seo, or ɜɛ Seo. He never dies, is very wise, kindly, merciful, and just, induces people to do good deeds, and helps people, especially the poor, who are in trouble. He is often seen in the clouds and can easily make himself visible or invisible. In the province of Canton the name Jesus is often pronounced Ye Seo, but it is uncertain whether the name and character of this deity have any relation to Jesus Christ.

There is a female deity who lives in the sky called Ts'ī[3] Ma Niang Tsai. She is very merciful and especially shows kindness to unfortunate children.

821 There is a warty toad called in Chinese *lai ke pao*, which is believed to have
776 marvelous powers and to cause hailstorms. During these storms men shoot off guns to frighten the toad and cause it to cease sending down hail.

There is a dragon king who causes rain and who lives in a palace beneath a pool or lake. There are stories that tell of his daughter's marrying a very poor man in order to help him.

776 Certain kinds of trees are sometimes worshiped as deities. They are generally trees on hills or mountains that are old and do not shed their leaves in winter—evergreens such as the *non muh*, but never a fir or pine tree.

778 A strange custom is the worship of the door. The thick doorsill together with the door itself, which often has two wings, is regarded as a deity and is worshiped in an elaborate ceremony in which a pig is killed and offered.

[146 cont.]
773 part in other activities still remains with the Sheng Miao today.
776 Thunder, dragon, tiger, and rocks are all important objects of worship, to which they sacrifice devoutly as if these were gods. Thunder especially is considered as a majestic god, and every
[821] time when thunder roars in the heavens they would immediately stop work and inquire who has provoked his anger for fear that the dreaded flood in their mythology would descend upon them again. Every year during the time of spring thunder, there is
[796] held a special ritual called "genhou," when all work is stopped for three days to avert the disaster from heaven.

4. The story of a monstrous birth through incestuous mar-
171 riage which serves to limit consanguineous marriage, is com-
773 mon with most primitive peoples. The foregoing myth also tells of a melon-shaped child born of a wedlock between En and Mei, who are brother and sister. It is conceded by many historians that marriages among the earliest peoples were incestuous. In the mythology of the Sheng Miao the brother and sister got married because mankind was destroyed by the flood, and they had no alternative but to marry each other even though they were fully aware of the impropriety of the union. The marriage was advised by an old dame and a little insect, who told them to proceed from opposite directions, each holding an umbrella and with leaves covering up their eyes, and upon meeting, to call each other "lao piao" [lit., old cousin]. In a similar way when a brother and sister among the savage people of Polynesia are united in marriage, they call each other "pu-na-lu-ya" (dear ones) instead of brother and sister. [147] Nevertheless it was an incestuous marriage, and the melon child was the result. The fact that today there is still such a conception among
773 the Sheng Miao shows the existence of this marriage system in the past. Although they now avoid marriages between the same surnames and between people of the same village, the
[177] acquisition of their surnames from the Chinese is comparatively
[551] of recent origin. Moreover, their acceptance of marriages
[588] between cousins makes us suspect that there are still cases of incestuous union among them.

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231 776 [731] [789] [243] If a village is plagued by many sicknesses, the Meau erect a symbolic gate out of three crossbeams about 40 or 50 meters from the village on the path leading to their settlement. Here the dog is hanged, and it is assumed that henceforth, as a guardian spirit, it will seek to prevent evil spirits from treading the paths that lead into the village. The same procedure is followed before laying out a new rice field.

[764] [775] In addition the Meau practice in different ways the custom of killing a dog when a human being dies; as a spirit it is supposed to guide the soul of the deceased into the other world.

776 My informant explained to me that over this whole host of spirits there stands only one spirit to whom they all, even the ancestors, are subject, "as to a king." He is invisible like all the other spirits, but in contrast to the latter he does not have human form, and lives simultaneously in heaven and in the earth, he is omnipresent. This chief spirit or, if one prefers, "high god" of the Meau, is bisexual, that is, male and female at the same time. He is the "Father and Mother spirit" of the Meau, who call him nă thu pen do nă thu /169/ pẹ̆ dŏ. Savina (1)

[114] [775]

1. II, p. 243.

gives his name as Ndo Chu or Chu Lau and maintains that this chief spirit, according to Meau belief, created the world. I was unable to find any confirmation for this notion, however.

It is not his affair to determine birth and death, but he is turned to when especially important reasons come up, for instance, when evil spirits are to be fought, and therefore especially in the case of epidemics and similar events. The animals of the forest are likewise under the jurisdiction of the high Father-Mother spirit. Therefore, the hunters must turn to him with their request for rich booty.

[931] [825] [224] [773] The Meau told me that human beings do not know who created the world (concerning the legends about this, see the chapter "Myths and Fairy Tales"). They also do not know who makes lightning and thunder and do not have any clear conception as to the origin of these natural phenomena. They presume, however, that they are linked with the actions of the

[821] [626]

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Miao AE5

/169 cont: /

M 776 spirits and regard lightning as the avenging power, so to speak, with which these spirits punish rebellious mortals.

● 821 [624] The Meau do not know how an eclipse of the sun or the moon is produced. As soon as such natural events occur, one must shut himself up at home and may not in any case look at the stars because the latter are being eaten by evil spirits. If one should look nevertheless, the spirits concerned would likewise eat him in an instant. How it happens that the "devoured" stars appear again cannot be explained, nor is it attempted.

M 177 821 [776] The Meau also do not associate the aforementioned natural phenomena with the supreme "Father-Mother" spirit. How little the religious views of the peoples with whom the Meau come in contact have been adopted is shown by the fact that they pay no attention to comets, whose appearance is of great significance for their Laotian and Chinese neighbors. This is all the more striking since among the Chinese the appearance of a comet signifies the outbreak of a war or revolution, among the Lao the death of a person of royal blood, both being conceptions which, in view of the history and mentality of the Meau, could certainly psychologically /170/ make an impression on them. As has been said, however, although the Meau know the deities of the neighboring peoples, they are little influenced by their views.

A 776 Among the Akha, too, I discovered the conception of a supreme being, which is found in such a marked fashion in the religion of the Meau, and, to be sure, among the Akha it is the god of heaven, ǎdŏdŭchŏ. He likewise resides in and above the clouds, and all the other spirits are subject to him. Accordingly, A [782] he automatically partakes of all the sacrifices offered by the human beings to the other spirits, and therefore special offerings to him are regarded as unnecessary. Telford's (1) opinion that

1. Page 98.

A [773] such a conception is only "vague" among the Akha contrasts with these findings. Perhaps, however, Telford's words refer to the spirit "yăbĭdĕlăhă, " who created the universe. In any case,

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224 If the hunter tracks a wounded animal and, while camping
787 at night, hears the cry of the large black squirrel, he assumes
825 that the game has died in the meantime. If a spider spins its web over the place of a hunter's fire, he infers from this that he will soon bag some game.

787 It is regarded as a bad omen when a bird alights in a camp
825 /191/ set up in the jungle. If the bird should perch on the tree under which one is resting and if, in addition, he is hit by its droppings, this is regarded as the most unfavorable omen imaginable. Strangely enough, omens are not linked with the conspicuous and common hornbill, whose plaintive call astonishes every stranger, even if he has not yet seen the grotesque appearance of the bird, and which plays an especially important role among head-hunting peoples. Monkeys, lizards, frogs, and fish likewise have little significance among the Meau, and heavenly
● [821] phenomena, too, are not connected with omens. Similarly there
754 are no practitioners of black magic among the Meau, although
829 the concept is generally known. For instance, it is believed that among the neighboring peoples in the valleys, especially among the Chinese and Lao, such magicians who are able to do harm to human beings are very common.

787 The art of soothsaying is also known to the Meau. The belief is that it is neither inheritable nor can it be taught, but that it simply depends on the will of the spirits which person is endowed with this faculty. And there is no means by which the will of the spirits can be influenced in this respect.

Great importance is ascribed to dreams since it is assumed -- as has been said -- that in sleep the soul goes wandering and therefore dreams are nothing but the experiences of the soul while a person is asleep. The interpretation of dreams is also the
[756] business of the shaman, but, as in the case of omens, there are some dreams, too, that every Meau interprets in the same way.

[763] In general it is assumed that one's parents will die if he
[171] dreams that he is losing his teeth. In this connection it is interesting to note that the idea of a sinister meaning of a dream in which teeth play a role is also found among the Lao and Chinese, as well as in Europe.

AKha A04
Miao AE5

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M 784 [756] [626] [821] corresponding period has elapsed. Otherwise, however, not even the shaman has the power nowadays to lift or to modify a taboo. The people are convinced that non-observance, which would bring the punishment called for in connection with the particular prohibition, would be generally punished by the spirits and ancestors so that lightning would strike the malefactor and kill him.

A 776 782 [171] The cultic practices of the Akha are generally similar to those of the Meau, but quite different in particulars. The Akha devote a regular cult to all the spirits and ancestors, with the exception of the god of heaven, "ɤ̆dŏdŭchŏ," and the spirit of the world. The god of heaven, it will be recalled, remains excluded from the regular cult, because in the view of the Akha he dwells above and below the clouds, all the other spirits are his subjects, and therefore he, of course, partakes of all the sacrifices offered to them. As has also been stated, the creator of the world, "yăbĭdĕlăhăt," about whom I could learn only vague ideas, is likewise offered no sacrifices, but I was unable to obtain more detailed information on this.

A 782 The Akha, too, view the sacrifice as a means of making the spirits and ancestors favorably disposed toward them and likewise use invocations to establish contact with the spirit concerned or the ancestors during the sacrifice. In contrast to the

A [516] Meau, however, the Akha do not assume a definite position while uttering their prayers. /215/ Some may be seen bending one

A [788] knee, others squat, and still others stand. Set prayer formulas, here again in parallel with the Meau, are also unknown among the Akha. One turns to the spirit with ordinary words and explains the matter to him in detail. Such prayers or invocations are always associated with the offering of sacrifices, which, however, in comparison with the Meau, are relatively rare.
/Fig. 56 appears here./

A 782 778 [24] The sacrifices are usually offered at the presumable abode of the spirit concerned, if special sacrificial places or little temples have not been erected for this by the Akha (Fig. 56). For example, before clearing is begun, a small temple abode is erected for the field spirit, yămyătsă, and sacrifices are made

/432 cont./

805 According to my observations, the times of day are
● 821 reckoned according to the height of the position of the sun and
192 not according to the length of the shadows. The sun is called nū; the moon, thī; the stars, nū kŏ; the Milky Way, nū kŏ kă lūn tŏ; the evening star, tsă tsĭ gĕ. In addition, a number of fixed stars and constellations are known, and their rising and setting are observed. Needless to say, sunrise, nū tóă, noon, nū tše ró, and sunset, nū pŭn kău, are distinguished. The length of an interval of time is reckoned by the times of the day required to travel a given route or to finish a certain task.

512 The course of a day for the Meau depends on whether or not there is work to be done in the fields. In both cases, however, it is regulated in established fashion. If the work in the fields is in the foreground, the men rise with the first crowing of the cock, that is, about five o'clock in the morning and find [264] breakfast already prepared by the women. The midday meal, too, is already cooked and ready to be taken to the fields. The first meal of the day is quickly eaten, and then they go together [887] for the work in the fields. Only the very old people or one woman will remain behind in each house in order to take care of the small children and the livestock. There is industrious work [264] in the fields until about noon, and then between twelve and one o'clock a pause is taken, during /433/ which the cold midday meal is eaten. Without delay they then again devote themselves to the fieldwork, which is broken off at an appropriate time, according to the length of the return trip, in order to be able to begin the tasks connected with the house before nightfall. [252] Once at home, the grain, rice or maize, is immediately ground [231] in the large stone mills (Ill. 94), the pig fodder for the next [264] day is prepared, the domestic animals are driven into the stables, and not until long after nightfall, about seven o clock or later, [517] can the Meau eat their evening meal. After this, the women settle down close to the fire and spin, the youngsters gather together, and the older men reach for the opium pipe. Soon everybody goes to bed.

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177 not argue against their adaptability, for there is no proof that the Meau, who very carefully and seriously investigate even the most insignificant plant for its usefulness, and who therefore certainly thought about foreign methods of construction, regard the houses of foreign peoples in relation to their own as actually "more comfortable." Probably those houses would not conform as well to the way of life of the Meau.

821 "Far more limited than their knowledge of the world of animal and plants is that /471/ of minerals or celestial bodies [824] (see also the chapter, "Time-reckoning and Division of the Day"). It is strange that they do not think about the causes of natural phenomena, the change of seasons, the growth and decay of vegetation, in spite of the fact that in the mountain forests of northern Thailand these are very prominent. They behave in the same way toward rain, thunderstorms (on the other hand, on the significance of lightning, see the chapter, "Religion and Magic," the section, "Deities and Spirits"), and even comets and earthquakes, which are simple noted (I have reported on the eclipses of the sun and moon in the chapter-section just mentioned). The Meau estimate the diameter of the sun as ten fathoms in their linear measure, but in their view the moon is larger than the sun, about 20 fathoms in diameter, and the size of the stars varies, with their average diameter probably a fathom in size.

202 As has already been pointed out, the Meau have neither sign nor drum, whistle, secret, or women's language, and no writing of their own, but they do know individual signals for warning one another in case of danger. For example, three shots fired at short intervals or the rapid beating of a gong signify danger. These signals, however, are not used for matters of [724] war. In such cases organized arrangements are handled by messengers.

153 The memory of the Meau is excellent. The Meau re- [675] member especially well everything that they have promised, which speaks very well for their character.